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John Carter Brown.

by Shebbeare, John

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A THIRD
LETTER
TO THE
People of *ENGLAND*.

[Price One Shilling.]

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A THIRD
LETTER
TO THE
People of *England*,
ON
LIBERTY, TAXES,
And the APPLICATION of
PUBLICK MONEY.

Torpere ultra, & perdendam rempublicam relinquere Sopor & Ignavia videretur. TACIT.

The THIRD EDITION.

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Lewis Carter Brown

A

LETTER

TO THE

People of *England.*

LETTER III.

WITHOUT entering into a long Diſquiſition concerning the Requiſites which are neceſſary to conſtitute the Idea of LIBERTY in every State, or aſcertaining what kind of Government is, in the Nature of it's Conformation, the beſt adapted for ſuſtaining it when once eſtabliſhed; may it not with Truth be ſaid, that whenever Inequity in Laws, and Inequality in diſtributive Juſtice are found amongſt a People, that then the Exertion and Enjoyment of true Freedom do not perfectly exiſt in that State.

THAT

THAT Liberty neceſſarily belongs to no one Form of Government, may be fairly inferred from the Opinions and Practice of all Antiquity, and in particular from the Sentiments and Behaviour of the two moſt illuſtrious Nations of the World, the *Athenians* and *Romans*.

DURING the Reign of *Theſeus* their great legiſlative King, and in many others which ſucceeded his, and under the *Archons*, the *Athenians* conſidered themſelves a Free People, becauſe they were governed by equitable Statutes. Even *Piſiſtratus*, who fraudulently uſurped an abſolute Power over his Fellow-Countrymen, was leſs oppoſed by the People than by his Competitors for Dominion, and died at laſt upon the Throne of *Athens*.

THE Reaſon of this ſeems evident; he ruled according to the Laws of Equity and *Solon*. Had his Succeſſors accompanied their Reigns with equal Judgment, and the ſame juſt Diſpoſition, the *Grecians* had not complained of violated Freedom, and expelled them from their City.

BREACH

BREACH of Juſtice, and Contempt of Laws, proved thei Bane and Demolition; and not their being Monarchs.

THE next Innovation in the *Athenian* State, was the Ariſtocratic Government, conſiſting of Four Hundred Men; theſe, under the Pretext of appealing to their Conſtituents, obſerving the Laws, and preſerving the Conſtitution of the State, perverted the Intention of the firſt, and ſubverted the Foundations of the latter; till, becoming obnoxious to a People ever jealous of their Liberty and ſenſible of Injury, they were baniſhed by the Re-call of *Alcibiades*, and the Valour of their enraged Countrymen. After this, Liberty, and the old Form of Government, returned to *Athens*.

No long Space intervened till ambitious Views and popular Commotions created new Diſturbances in the State. At this time the *Athenians*, to re-inſtate the confuſed Condition of their Affairs, choſe from amongſt their Fellow-Citizens thirty Men, to collect and compile a Body of Laws, the moſt promiſing and probable to re-eſtabliſh the broken

Police

Police of the City, correct the Diſſolution of Manners in the Citizens, reſtore it to it's ancient Glory, and to be the ſtanding Rules of future Government.

To this Oligarchy the ſole Direction of the State, and ſupreme Authority was entruſted. Theſe, in the Beginning, proceeding with great Appearance of Juſtice, and forming ſalutary Laws, were chearfully obeyed by the People; 'till the Luſt of Power devouring the Love of Equality, they inſtituted Statutes oppreſſive of their Fellow-Citizens, and held in Contempt thoſe which they had already paſſed; when being let looſe to all the Outrage of deſpotic Inſolence, perpetrating the moſt atrocious and tyrannic Inſults on Liberty and the Conſtitution, inſtigated thereto by a Subſidiary Army of *Lacedæmonians*, they became the Deteſtation of every unpurchaſed *Athenian*.

At this Time the Virtue of *Thraſybulus*, and Seventy more only, who diſdained to be *Athenians* and be Slaves, reſcued their native Land from the opprobrious Chains of Oligarchic Tyranny: The Tyrants were ignominiouſly expelled the City, driven to that

Land

Land from whence they had hired the enſlaving Mercenaries, and their Laws publickly aboliſhed. In this manner Liberty and Juſtice returned once more to *Athens*.

Hence let it be remembered what Succeſs attends the Virtue of a Few fired with their Country's Cauſe; and what Fatality awaits thoſe who attempt deſpotic Sway, and the Ruin of their native Land by Foreign Hirelings.

In this State of Freedom the *Athenians* perſevered for ſome time, 'till growing inſolent by Wealth they deſpiſed the Religion, ſevere Virtue, and wholeſome Laws of their Anceſtors; when drowned in Luxury, Effeminacy, and Sports, neglecting all Military Attention, conſuming the public Revenue in Wantonneſs and Profuſion, thronging to Theatres, and inattentive to their Country's Welfare; excluding the Wiſe from all public Councils, and indulging Mimics, Buffoons, and Paraſites, at the Tables of the Great, they fell at length the eaſy Prey of *Philip*, King of *Macedon*.

In like manner, amongſt the *Romans*, under the various Changes of that Empire, the Revolutions which prevailed in it, ſeem rather to have ariſen from the pernicious Exceſs of acting contrary to the Nature of Liberty, than from Diſinclination to any one Form of Government. The Kings, in he Infancy of *Rome*, were willingly obeyed by the People, and the regal Power would probably have continued, if they had not dared to violate the Laws of that Conſtitution which they were choſen to protect.

The Conſular and Patrician Power was never oppoſed, 'till it became oppreſſive and injurious to the Plebeians; 'till the Senators, deſigned the Protectors of Liberty, became the Oppreſſors of the People; hence ſprang the *Decemviri*, to curb the Ariſtocratic Power, and inſtitute ſtable Laws for the Diſtribution of Juſtice, and Preſervation of Liberty. Yet, alas! ſuch is the Nature of Man, theſe, grown arrogant by Power, illegally prolonged the Time for which they had been choſen for the forming good Laws; violating the firſt Principles of Juſtice, and the very Intent for which they had been elected.

At

At length, the juſt Reſentment of an injured Nation fell upon them; they were ignominiouſly depoſed, and the ancient Form of Government, and Freedom reſtored together.

HENCE does it not manifeſtly appear from the Hiſtory and Tranſactions of thoſe People, who entertained the juſteſt Sentiments on that Subject, that Liberty belongs not neceſſarily either to Monarchy, Ariſtocracy, Oligarchy, Democracy, or to a Compoſition of theſe; that it is not abſolutely united to elective, more than to hereditary Powers; or conſiſts in being governed by Laws; but in being obliged to obey no Power which is arbitrary; and being ruled by no Laws, which are not equally diſtributive of Juſtice and Equity; alike preſervative of Great and Small, the Rulers Prerogatives, and Peoples Liberties.

WHAT I mean by *Liberty*, is not that diſſolute Licentiouſneſs, which is conſtantly miſtaken for, and aſſerted by the Profligate to be that celeſtial Attribute, alike the impious Companion of Tyranny and Anarchy; but ſuch as it is defined by the celebrated Author of *De l'Eſprit des Loix*; conſiſting in a Peo-

ple's poſſeſſing a Power of doing all that they ought to chooſe, and in not being conſtrained to do that which they ought not to chooſe.

If then this Definition, and what has been already ſaid, bear the ſacred Seal of Truth, does it not follow, that whenever a People are prohibited to bear Arms in Defence of themſelves, their Liberties and Properties; that whenever a Nation is doomed to labour for Thoſe who have no legal Claim of Merit on it's Inhabitants, who are deſtructive of the public Good, or for the Advantage of foreign Potentates, independent of their own: That in whatever Country theſe Conditions have obtained, they muſt be incompatible with the Intereſt of a free People, and totally repugnant to the Definition of Liberty, and that Idea of it acknowledged by Ancients and Moderns?

Notwithstanding theſe *Queries* are almoſt ſelf-evident Truths, permit me to examine, without Heat, and explain, without Acrimony, whence it is derived that Liberty and the above Conditions are abſolutely contradictory and found impoſſible to ſubſiſt together.

In attempting this, I ſhall not trace your Right to Liberty from *Magna Charta*, and the diſtant Practice of your Anceſtors; it will be ſufficient for me to ſay, That the ſame Legiſlative Act which eſtabliſhes the preſent Illuſtrious Family on the Throne, confirms you in your Liberties; that Law, which gives your Sovereign his Crown and Prerogatives, aſſigns and fixes your Rights and Privileges. The Power of making Peace and War is not more inherent in the King, than the being governed by juſt Laws belongs to the Subject.

Should any Men audaciouſly attempt to infringe the Royal Authority, and make the crowned Head dependent on the People's Will, ought they not to be deemed as Rebels to their Sovereign? In like manner, are not all thoſe who by any means would deprive their Fellow-Subjects of their Rights by Law eſtabliſhed, Traitors to them, their Conſtitution, and all that is committed to their Charge?

If Liberty then be the undiſputed Inheritance, and peculiar Bleſſing of an *Engliſhman*,

man, has he not a juſt Claim to the Right of defending it? Or, with what Shadow of Truth can he be imagined to be free?

BUT leſt the Word *Liberty*, conveying no Idea of an Object to the Senſes, may create ſome Puzzle in comprehending what may be here ſaid, let me place the Word *Money* in it's ſtead; the Reality of which, and the Idea adequate to the Term, being thoroughly underſtood by all. Let us then imagine a Law to have been enacted, by which every Man in *England*, who does not poſſeſs an Hundred Pounds a Year in Land, is prohibited from reſiſting all who have the Inclination to deprive him of his Money. What kind of Security would he conceive he had for poſſeſſing this Property? Would not he conclude, that his Tenure, depending on the Good-will and Honeſty of all who ſurrounded him, open to the Inroad of Invaders, was little worth, and extremely precarious?

THUS circumſtanced, would he not find himſelf in a worſe Condition in Society than without; being prevented from defending his Property by this Law of Compact; whereas it is permitted by that of Nature? And thus would not the very Eſſence of Society

Society be annihilated, becauſe a Law of ſuch a Kind is deſtructive of the very Ends for which Societies were originally inſtituted, mutual Preſervation, and Defence of Property? Is not ſuch a Law a more ſlaviſh Injunction than the arbitrary Will of a Prince, becauſe under the Semblance of being enacted by your Repreſentatives? Is it not conſidered as your own Deed, and do you not therefore become the Aſſaſſins of your own Freedom?

PLACE *Liberty* for *Money*, and the Arguments are equally coercive. If then Eaſe of Mind be amongſt the diſtinguiſhing Characteriſtics of Freedom, in what a deplorable Situation muſt every Man be, who beholds this celeſtial Donation every Minute ready to be ſnatched from his Poſſeſſion, deprived of Arms to reſcue that Bleſſing from the Hands of the Raviſher?

WHEREFORE under whatever Diſguiſe Military Weapons may be withheld from your Hands, though it ſhould be under that important and natural Conſideration of preſerving *Hares* and *Partridges*; ſince you will thereby be denied the Power of defending

your

your Liberties from the Invaſion of all who may attack them; can ye any longer be deemed a free People?

To aſſert a Nation is in ſecure Poſſeſſion of what it is forbidden to protect, is a Contradiction in Terms: And to ſay it is free, diveſted of all Power of defending it's Freedom, is that abſurd Contradiction.

LIBERTY, by the Conſtitution of the Realm, is the Birthright of every *Engliſhman*, and ought to be defended by all. It is not a Privilege granted to the Peer, and denied the Commoner; it is not conceded to the Merchant, who deals in Thouſands, and withheld from him who labours at the Loom or Plough.

YOUR Repreſentatives have never been authorized to diſpoſe of it, being choſen as it's Protectors, and not as Traffickers in that precious Merchandize; to guard, and not to betray, the important Charge of preſerving your Conſtitution. Every Law therefore, which can deprive you of defending that celeſtial Right, is it not an Infringement of your juſt Privilege, and a Violation of the Conſtitution?

LET me add alſo, that Inhibition of bearing Arms in defending of Perſon, Liberty, and Country, has been ever deemed, through all Nations of the World, the moſt flagitious Characteriſtic of abject Slavery. Under no Form of the *Athenian* or *Roman* Governments were the People denied the Uſe of military Weapons, and Fighting for their native Soil.

INDEED the *Elotæ*, the unarmed Slaves of *Lacedæmon*, held in Contempt and Ignominy through all *Greece*, tilled the Lands, and reaped the Harveſts for their atrocious Maſters; in like manner, diveſted of all Power of Defence, the ſooty *African* toils for his inſulting Lord beneath the ſultry Suns of *Jamaica*. In this Way, naked and defenceleſs, do ye not labour in this Iſle, with this imbittering Circumſtance, that being born *Engliſhmen*, ye have the ſame Claim to *Liberty* with Thoſe who may forge your Chains and rivet your Bondage: A Circumſtance never known in *Greece* or *Rome*, in which the Slaves were Aliens to the Land.

THAT your Anceſtors, and many now alive, entertained the ſame liberal Sentiments,

may be certainly gathered from that very *Act* which placed the *Engliſh* Diadem on the Head of *William* III. in which one great Complaint againſt *James* II. and one juſt Cauſe of his being dethroned, was, that he cauſed ſeveral good Subjects, being Proteſtants, to be diſarmed, at the ſame Time that Papiſts were indulged with Arms contrary to Law. What Act of Rebellion have ye ſince committed againſt your Sovereigns, that ye are thus ſtript of all military Power of defending yourſelves?

If diſarming a few Proteſtants was at that Time a juſt Cauſe of Complaint, and no ſmall Motive to dethrone a King; is it a leſs reaſonable Cauſe of complaining againſt a M——r at this Hour, when the whole Nation is diſarmed? Are Papiſt and Proteſtant become equally dreaded, and ſtript of all Defence, alike injuriouſly ſuſpected? Are the Sons of thoſe who oppoſed, and thoſe who placed *William* on the Throne of *England*, thus held indignantly like Slaves?

If Papiſts were a juſt Cauſe of Terror in the Reign of *James*, will the *Ruſſian* Savages and *German* Blood-ſuckers, under the Name

of

of *mercenary* Auxiliaries, afford leſs Reaſon for your Fears? If the pretended Exigency of Affairs, through M——l Neglect, or Deſign, ſhould require their Aſſiſtance in this Iſle, will Thoſe who freeze beneath the biteing Froſt of a *Ruſſian* Winter, denied almoſt the Neceſſiaries of Life, diveſted of it's Comforts, cheriſhed by Treaty with Hopes of being Freebooters, and endleſs Plunder; will they return at your Command, after having taſted the Sweets of *England?* Will the *Heſſian*, whoſe Being is the Price of Thirty Crowns, who ſees himſelf ſold by his inhuman Maſter, like the Ox to the higheſt Bidder; will he return to him who traffics his Subjects Lives for *Engliſh* Gold, and quit this Land, where they may be Maſters?

If they ſhould diſobey your Orders, defenceleſs and diſarmed as ye are, by what Method will ye compel them to obey you?

Are then theſe foreign Troops of mercenary Hirelings leſs to be dreaded in *George*'s Reign, than *Engliſh* Catholics were in that of *James?* Are ye leſs treated like Bondſmen, in being deprived of the Uſe of Arms now, than at that Time? Are ye leſs open to At-

tack and Ruin from avowed Enemies and pretended Friends?

Is not then the Law which renders ye defenceleſs, and ſnatches all Power of preſerving Liberty from your Hands, a more alarming Approach to Arbitrary Power than *James*'s preſuming to effect it by his own Authority? The one, a Burden fixed upon your Shoulders which ye cannot eſcape, a Load which you muſt carry; the other, though placed on the Back of *Engliſhmen* for a while, thrown to the Ground and rejected: Shall the firſt prevail unremonſtrated againſt becauſe diſguiſed as legal, allowed and acquieſced in, and the other diſavowed, deemed deſpotic, and reſiſted becauſe illegal; is it not a Breach of that Act which placed the Crown upon *William*'s Head?

SURELY no Man has Hardineſs enough to aſſert, that if the Miniſter in the Reign of *James* II. had poſſeſſed by Place and Penſion an abſolute Power over the Houſe of Commons, and commanded them to paſs a Law for diſarming the People, that ſuch an Act would have been leſs an Infringement of *Engliſh* Liberty, than if it had been executed by

by means of the King's Mandate only; all Ways of bringing about wrong Meaſures being alike unconſtitutional and arbitrary, it is the deſpicable State to which ye are reduced, and not the Means by which it is effected, that makes your being diſarmed a Violation of that Liberty and that Conſtitution, which neither *Britiſh* Kings nor *Britiſh* Laws have a Right to diminiſh or deſtroy.

HAS then that humiliating Condition, which was ſo juſtly deemed Slavery in his Reign, and ſo gloriouſly ſhaken off by your Fathers, changed it's Nature and loſt it's Sting in this? Or has Time eraſed all Senſe of Injury from your Souls, that being prohibited the Uſe of Arms, ye ſupinely behold the abject Situation to which ye are reduced, regardleſs, unremonſtrating, and uncomplaining of your Fate? Shall M——rs acquire that Deſpotiſm, which Kings have never yet been able to obtain? Wipe then all Record of Liberty from your Minds, if any Trace unhappily remains upon them; leſt the Remembrance of your loſt Condition ſhould damp the future Hours of your Lives with one eternal Sadneſs. Look not on your defenceleſs

fenceleſs Hands, nor ſighing think what *England* was. Learn from *Athenians*, *Romans*, *Britons*, that not *Men* alone, but *Laws* may be equally tyrannic and oppreſſive; then, by remonſtrating legally to your Prince and Repreſentatives, emerge from that abject State. Emulate your Fathers Glory; like Them, be Virtuous, be Immortal, and be Free.

HAVING ſaid thus much to prove to you, that no Nation denied the Power of defending their Liberties and Properties from foreign and domeſtick Enemies, can juſtly be denominated Free; permit me to ſhew you, how thoſe Hands which have been denied the Uſe of Arms for their own Protection, have been employed for the Advantage of others: That the whole Produce of your Labour, the Improvement of your Lands, your Increaſe of Manufactures, and your Gains by Merchandize, have been long doomed to the Support of foreign Nations, ruinous to *Engliſh* Liberty and the publick Good.

IN order to lay this Truth more evidently before your Eyes, it ſeems neceſſary to return

to

to the End of the Reign of *James* the Second, to ſhew you the State the Nation was then in, and compare it with what at preſent exiſts in this Iſland.

THAT Prince then, from a Paſſion of being deſpotic, and mole-eyed Zeal of propagating the *Roman* Catholick Religion, abuſed the regal Authority, and extended his Prerogative illegally over the People. He diſarmed Proteſtants; kept a Standing Army in Times of Peace; attempted to ſubvert the eſtabliſhed Religion, by tolerating Catholicks and Sectaries; violated the Freedom of Elections of Members to ſerve in Parliament; and committed many other groſs Enormities, mentioned in that Act of Parliament which placed the Crown on King *William*'s Head: All theſe being then deemed deſtructive of Liberty and your Conſtitution, and avowed as juſtifiable Reaſons for depoſing a King, are ſtill maintained to be ſuch, by every *Engliſhman*; they muſt ever remain the ſame, in the Opinion of all honeſt Men; and be an everlaſting Juſtification of all who attempt to oppoſe the Return of ſuch abſolute Proceedings, whether in the Monarch or his Miniſter.

ACCORD-

ACCORDINGLY in obedience to ſuch true Sentiments of Liberty and our Conſtitution, Popery and arbitrary Power were ſuppoſed to be expelled together. Since which Time the two laſt have been conſidered as conſtant Companions, ever united in the Mouths of the Whigs: Let me examine, whether the Experience of ſucceeding Years has not proved that they have been divided, and that when Popery was driven into Baniſhment, arbitrary Power did not change Maſk and Domino, and remain in that new Diſguiſe amongſt the Crowd.

AND here it is impoſſible to avoid obſerving to you, that though before this Date it had been declared " a King of *England* could do no Wrong," yet that this Maxim could not then have been univerſally received, becauſe in dethroning *James* II. and in not confining their Puniſhments to the Miniſters alone, the Leaders muſt have been deemed as Rebels by all Men of Virtue; which Behaviour having never been conſidered in that View, it appears impoſſible that the above Maxim could have been univerſally acknowledged.

NOT-

NOTWITHSTANDING this, whatever might have been the Speculation and Practice of *Engliſhmen* at that Time, it certainly ought to be received as an inviolable and ſacred Tenet at preſent, " that the King can do no Wrong :" And I am under no Apprehenſion of it's being diſproved, when I affirm, that ſince that Day no crowned Head has ever committed a wrong Action.

HOWEVER, though Kings, as Vicegerents of Heaven, replete with celeſtial Attributes, are acknowledged to be incapable of doing Wrong, yet are they not totally exempt from human Weakneſſes : Nor has it ever been aſſerted that Miniſters, who generally receive their Qualifications from a very different Origin, cannot injure their Fellow-Subjects, or deſtroy their Country. Can it ever therefore be Criminal for an *Engliſhman* to delineate to his Countrymen in what manner human Frailty in a crowned Head, and Iniquity in Miniſters, may have co-incided to advance a Nation's Ruin ?

JAMES being depoſed, and the Prince of *Orange* placed on the Throne, that Prince,

though considered as Immortal, was yet not unallayed with human Frailties; amongst which, his Preference and Predilection of the United Provinces, proved not a little prejudicial to this Land, and this People, who presented him with the precious and superb Donation of three Kingdoms, to which he had no Claim, and to the obtaining which no Man ever atchieved less.

This Foible too eminently distinguished itself in postponing the Good of these Nations to that of *Holland*; and tho' a Theme for much Praise in the Songs of *Dutch* Poets, yet ought it to be held in eve lasting Remembrance with Pain by all *Englishmen*.

From the Time of this Prince's mounting the Throne, the Interest of *England* began to sink in the Bogs of *Holland*, and the High and Mighty States reigned in the Breast of this King in Possession, as Popery did in Him that was exiled from the Throne.

Unhappy for this Nation, the King of *England* was likewise Stadtholder of the United Provinces: And though a Prince of the Continent may be allowed Plurality of Dominions,

Dominions, yet paſt Experience has proved, that the Intereſt of this Iſland will no more permit the Sovereigns of it to poſſeſs Plurality of Realms, than the Chriſtian Religion Plurality of Wives. It cannot ſuffer this Kingdom to be wedded for her Wealth, ſubſervient to another more favourite Wife, taken for Love alone. As ſhe is ſeparated from the World, ſhe ought to be diſunited from all others in the Breaſt of her Poſſeſſor. It is not therefore impoſſible for one Part of a King's Dominions to be uttering eternal Eulogies, in Commemoration of him, whom the other has little Reaſon to eſteem. It muſt be remembered alſo, that tho' the King of *England* and Stadtholder were united in one Perſon, that the Intereſt and Titles of *England* and the United Provinces remained as diſtinct and ſeparate as if held by two different Princes; and no Union of theſe in one Man, can change the Nature and Advantages which each Dominion naturally poſſeſſes.

WHATEVER Country then may be held by the King of *England* under another Title, is to be conſidered as unconnected with this Iſle, farther than as that Dominion and this may mutually aid and ſupport each other;

and this notwithſtanding any ſuperior Love which the Sovereign may manifeſt towards it. An *E*——*b* M——r therefore, who may indulge his Maſter, and, for the ſake of preſerving his own Power, dupe his native Land to this Propenſity, is an Enemy, if not a Rebel, to his Country.

Should *France* and *England*, which Heaven avert, be ever ruled by the ſame Sovereign, would not the M——r who pillaged this Land to pleaſe his King, and enrich the *French*, deſerve the ſevereſt Puniſhment?

In like manner, every other Realm held by a King of this Iſland, the Intereſt of which is diſtinct, if not contradictory to yours, ſhould be conſidered by you in the very ſame Light as *France*, and beheld with the ſame Averſion by every *Engliſhman* who is reſolved to be free. Have ye not juſt Right to complain, whenever the Labour of your Hands, the Profits of your Trade, and the Blood of your Fellow-Subjects, ſhall be wantonly laviſhed in Defence of Foreign Intereſts, to fatten the ſterile Soil, and fill the empty Purſes of more favourite Subjects?—Will not every M——r who foſters ſuch Inclinations,

clinations, and drains his Country's Treaſures to ſupply them, merit the moſt ignominious Puniſhment?

It muſt be remarked alſo, that at this glorious Period of the Revolution, which ſo happily eſtabliſhed (according to the Whig Phraſe) our Liberties and Privileges, Things took a different Turn from what is generally conceived; the Supreme Power, in Fact, fell from the crowned Head on that of the Miniſter. From this Inſtant the latter began to be abſolute, and his Sovereignty has been increaſing ſince that Time.

The Whigs in Power, from the Principle inſeparable from a Whig, now reſolved to make themſelves arbitrary. They had found by Experience, that an Attempt to reign without a King was impracticable in *England*; they therefore commenced the ſucceſsful Scheme of reigning with one; and this Change of Princes afforded too favourable an Opportunity for executing their deſpotic Deſigns.

They ſaw that the King muſt of Neceſſity fall entirely into their Poſſeſſion. They knew

knew alſo that his Opponents being very numerous, he dared not to deſert that Party which had crowned him. They perceived alſo, that being an Alien to the Land, the Love of *Dutch* Welfare had abſorbed the Good of *England* in the new Sovereign's Heart; and he, in his Turn, had diſcovered, that the Deſire of Power, and not Freedom, had chiefly actuated in the Breaſts of thoſe who had given him the Throne: In mutual Acquieſcence therefore with each other's Intereſts, the King declined ſtruggling for Power in *England*, to obtain Money for the Service and Advantage of *Holland*; and to ſate his Love of Slaughter, and Enmity to *Lewis* XIV. And the Miniſter indulged him with the Objects of theſe Deſires, in order to govern more quietly and deſpotic. Thus this Country was ſacrificed to *Holland*, to pleaſe the favourite Inclinations of a King, and to ſupport a pernicious Miniſtry.

At the ſame Time the Miniſters, to bind the monied Men to their Devotion, and ſecure them in their Power, began the deſtructive Schemes of *National Debts*, and mortgaging *Engliſhmen*; by which all thoſe thus indulged in their Deſigns of accumulating Wealth were gained to the Party: And all this

this was tranſacted under a Maſk, written all over in red Letters with LIBERTY, PROPERTY, and the PROTESTANT RELIGION; No POPERY! No SLAVERY!

THE People, caught like Larks by the dazzle of theſe Words, and with ſeeing a King ſeemingly kept under by his Miniſters and Parliament, imagined that the Temple of Liberty was now fixing on a Rock, which no Winds or Tempeſts could remove; never entertaining the leaſt Idea, that the very Part of the Conſtitution which was pruning the Regal Power, was inoculating their own; and that by their future Culture this Sprig of Miniſterial Power might grow to overſhadow the Regal Prerogative and People's Liberties; and that a Miniſter might hereafter be an abſolute Potentate.

YET, though Miniſters are abſolute, they are not immortal. Like the deſpotic Sultans they frequently give Way to their Succeſſors, through Tumult and Oppoſition; and Kings, like Janizaries, may change their Lords, and yet live under an abſolute Dominion. For this Reaſon, as there are at all times many vigorous Sons urging up the

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ſteep Aſcent of Power, the Miniſter in Poſſeſſion, in order to preſerve his Seat, has conſtantly indulged the crowned Head with Money to promote *Dutch* and *Germanic* Intereſts; and thus the Sovereign being content, the Miniſter has been ſecure, and the Nation going on to Ruin.

By Proceedings of this Nature, ſince the placing the Crown on the Head of *William* the Third, a new Way of becoming arbitrary has been purſued by M——rs. It ſeems, they had been convinced by the Death and Exile of Princes, that P————ts would not ſilently bear the exorbitant Attempts of Regal Prerogative, and from thence were apprehenſive, they were no more inclined tamely to ſubmit to the arbitrary Diſpoſition of M—rs; they therefore began to divide amongſt the Members part of that Money which they levied on the Conſtituents; and thus, under the Appearance of proceeding legally, kept the People quiet, and ſtifled the Clamour of their Repreſentatives by venal Influence.—By this Way Laws were made, which inflicted greater Grievances, and impoſed heavier Taxes on you, than had ever been attempted by extended Prerogative and arbitrary Inclinations.

Not-

NOTWITHSTANDING this, it appears to me, that as thoſe Articles in the *Act of Settlement* were then judged neceſſary to aſcertain your Liberties; they cannot be infringed or abrogated without injuring your Rights and the Conſtitution, and bringing back in Effect, though not in the ſame Place, that arbitrary Power ſo juſtly complained of in *James*'s Reign.

HAVING ſaid thus much, let me now preſent you with the State of your Taxes, as they ſtood at the Abdication of King *James*; and then ſhew you by what Means they have ſo enormouſly increaſed, from that Hour to the preſent.

AT *James*'s leaving the Crown, the annual Revenue of this Kingdom, at the higheſt Computation, was Two Millions Sixty-one Thouſand Eight Hundred fifty-ſix Pounds. This Income then ſupported a formidable Navy equipped for the Seas, and an Army of Thirty-Thouſand Land Forces. It ſupplied the Civil Liſt, and impowered the King to ſave Money yearly: For, according to Accompts given into Parliament, the annual

Expence amounted at a Medium to no more than One Million Six Hundred ninety-nine Thouſand Three Hundred ſixty-three Pounds. By this it appears, that Three Hundred ſixty two Thouſand Four Hundred ninty-three Pounds of the public Revenue were annually ſaved: At this Time alſo the Kingdom was not a Shilling in Debt.

THIS then was the ſuppoſed Situation of your Affairs at that diſtinguiſhed Æra. A Kingdom without a Head; a Nation out of Debt; an annual Revenue of Two Millions; Popery and Slavery baniſhed; the Whigs in full Poſſeſſion, unincumbered, and entire Maſters!

LET me now inquire, how like Patriots thoſe who ſtript the Crown from the Father's Head, and placed it on the Son and Daughter's, have acquitted themſelves in the Service of their Country.

DURING the Reign of King *William*, his Love of *Holland*, and Luſt of War cheriſhed by the Miniſtry deſiring to be abſolute, levied upon this People upwards of Fifty Millions in thirteen Years. More than double

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the Amount of former Taxes, for an equal number of Years preceding; beſides which, you and your Poſterity were mortgaged for a Debt of Ten Millions. This Bleſſing the Deliverer of this Land bequeathed you at his Death; doubly Immortal, in expelling Popery, and mortgaging *England*.

AFTER his deceaſe, the Balance of Power, the Liberty of *Germany*, *Popery*, *Slavery*, and the *Proteſtant* Intereſt, Terms which Time has ſhewn never to have had any reaſonable Ideas annexed to them, together with the Ambition and Avarice of the Duke and Dutcheſs of *Marlborough*, engaged you in a War on the Continent, in ſupport of the moſt Popiſh and moſt Arbitrary Prince of all the *Germanic* States, the Houſe of *Auſtria*.

DURING this War, your Taxes, your Ruin, and your Conqueſts, went Hand in Hand, magnificently increaſing. For at the end of Ten Years Victory and Queen *Anne*'s Reign, there had been levied on this People more than Seventy five Millions; which being almoſt Six Millions a Year, is annually three Times as much as was raiſed during the Reign of *James*. To ſay nothing of the ex-

travagant Increaſe of the National Debt to Fifty Three Millions. Thus in two Reigns of Twenty Six Years, this infatuated Nation was pillaged of One Hundred twenty three Millions to ſupport *Dutch* and *German* Intereſts, and deſtroy their own.

To this Princeſs ſucceeded *George* the Firſt, whoſe Inclination to govern according to the Conſtitution has been generally allowed and believed, and I imagine with Juſtice, though by no Means diveſted of Predilection for his native Land.

Had his Miniſter poſſeſſed the ſimple Qualification of Integrity during this Reign, *England* might have been lightened from her Load of Debts, and emerged with all her former Effulgence from behind her Cloud of Grievances: For it is as demonſtrable as Figures can make it, that during this Reign, if *Engliſh* Welfare had been the Miniſterial Object, your Debts might have been reduced to Twelve Millions, which at Three *per Cent.* would have been but Three Hundred and Fifty Thouſand Pounds *per Ann.* a Subſidy at preſent ſcarce deemed worth the Acceptation of a *German* Prince, whoſe Revenue does not amount to half that Sum.

In Conſequence of ſuch Deſign perſued with Equity, in the Year 1740 we ſhould have had a free Revenue of Five Millions from the Sinking Fund, Malt Tax, and Land Tax at Four Shillings in the Pound. During this Reign of Peace the whole Revenue amounted to more than Thirty Eight Millions, and the National Debt remained much as it was at the Queen's Death.

How then can the Memory of a M——r be ſufficiently deteſted, who thus neglecting the Salvation of his native Land, ſaw it expiring beneath the Burthen of her Taxes, yet never ſtretched forth his Hand to eaſe her Load and ſave her from Perdition? He, who had been the Univerſal Invader of Freedom in Electing your Repreſentatives, the Profligate Spreader of Perjury and Corruption; the wanton Spoiler of Religion and Virtue; who, by the Power of paſſing penal Laws cut you from your Rights and Privileges, and doom'd your Lives to the Mercy of every proſtituted Juſtice of the Peace.

Is this according to the Spirit of *Magna Charta*, the Bill of Rights, the Act of Settlement, or *Engliſh* Liberty? Deteſtable therefore

fore as he muſt remain in the Hearts of all honeſt Men, tell me in what Light ought his Succeſſors to be regarded, who, improving on his nefarious Plan of National Ruin, have ſo loaded the Genius of this diſtreſſed Iſle with accumulated Impoſts, that, ſunk beneath the Load, he gaſps expiring?

During this Time *Germanic* Intereſts grew daily more prevalent, and M——rs inſolently purſued the old Maxims of indulging the ruling Paſſions of their———to preſerve themſelves in Power, remorſeleſs in their Country's Ruin; ſo that during this Reign there has been levied on this oppreſſed People, One Hundred forty five Millions, and in one Year, the laſt of the War, Ten Millions fifty nine Thouſand ninety four Pounds: And even in the Year Seventeen Hundred fifty four, in profound Peace, Seven Millions five Hundred thirteen Thouſand three Hundred forty four Pounds. Thus from the happy Hour of the Glorious and Immortal King *William*'s being placed on this Throne, your annual Taxes have been increaſed from Two Millions ſixty one Thouſand eight Hundred fifty ſix Pounds, to Ten Millions fifty nine Thouſand ninety four

Pounds

Pounds in Time of War, and to Seven Millions five Hundred thirteen Thouſand three Hundred forty four Pounds in Time of perfect Tranquillity; added to which Bleſſing, you, your Children, and Childrens Children, to endleſs Generations, are mortgaged for a National Debt of Eighty Millions.

During this Interval, ſo productive of Bleſſings to this Land, according to the Songs of Whigs, Penſioners, Placemen, and M—rs, conſiſting of Sixty ſix Years only, there has been levied Three Hundred and eight Millions, from which deducting the annual Expence of Two Millions at the dethroning *James* the Second, there remains One Hundred and ſeventy-ſix Millions, which have been laviſhed in ſupporting *Dutch* and *German* Intereſts, and ruining your own.

Having thus far traced the happy Conſequences of the *Whig* Adminiſtration, in draining you by oppreſſive Taxes, and overwhelming you with enormous Debts, I ſhall take the Liberty to ſhow you how this Money has in Part been diſpoſed of in Subſidies to foreign Princes; firſt making one Remark, that whenever a Man of no Fortune marries a rich

rich Wife, it generally follows, that her Money maintains his poor Relations and needy Couſins.

In doing this it will be impoſſible to come at all the Sums paid in Subſidies, becauſe Votes of Credit, Money for Deficiencies not provided for by Parliament, and other unſpecified Sums, may very poſſibly have been applied in this anti-conſtitutional Manner. And to ſhow you that this Suppoſition is not without juſt Foundation, in 1697 there were, amongſt the Reſolutions of the Houſe, mention of Sums due to the Elector of *Brandenburgh*, Landgrave of *Heſſe Caſſel*, Duke of *Wolfenbuttle*, Biſhop of *Munſter*, Duke of *Hanover* and *Zell*, Duke of *Holſtein*, and the King of *Denmark*.

However, without including what has been juſt mentioned, there has been paid in Subſidies and incident Expences to foreign Princes, more than Fourteen Millions: A Sum exceeding the preſent Quantity of Specie in the Nation. And to this if there be added the Expence of ſubſiſting thoſe Troops in time of War, probably the Sum would be doubled.

THIS muſt inenevitably appear not a little unaccountable and extraordinary to the Mind of every true *Engliſhman*: How will he reconcile this Idea with the Love of his Country; that during Wars carried on ſolely for *Germanic* Intereſts, the *Engliſh* have ſpent in Paying and Suſtaining thoſe Powers Twenty-eight Millions, hiring Princes and People to defend their own Territories, and protect their own Properties. What Arguments can a M———r offer to palliate this profligate Abuſe of Power and Public Truſt, this Sacrifice, more inhuman than thoſe to *Möloch*, of a whole Nation to the Advantage of *German* Princes, whoſe Intereſts are as diſtant from yours, as thoſe of one Planet from another, whoſe Dominions are not worth, at Public Auction, the Tenth Part of what you have ſpent and ran in Debt to ſupport them; of this Sum, Two Millions Three hundred thouſand Pounds *Engliſh* Money, have been paid to the Elector of *H——r*, as Subſidies for Troops hired to defend their own Country.

MARVELLOUS as the former muſt appear, this Article muſt yet ſurely excite a greater Wonder in the Eyes of all Men who yet

love their Country, particularly when they conſider, that ſince the bleſſed Acceſſion of this Family to the Throne of theſe Realms, the Elector of *H——r* muſt have been enabled to ſave from his *Germanic* Revenues, by not reſiding on the Spot, at leaſt Two hundred thouſand Pounds Annually. Theſe Sums, without entering into a ſtrict Calculation of increaſing Intereſt, like a *Change-Alley* Broker, and yet not quite rejecting it, muſt, without Doubt, have doubled themſelves to the amount of Sixteen Millions Four hundred thouſand Pounds.

THIS Sum then *H——r* has ſaved, whilſt M————rs have been oppreſſing the harraſſed Subjects of *England*, deſtroying your Manufactures by Taxes, ruining your Liberties by fatal Laws, and mortgaging your Progeny by enormous Debts; methinks therefore, ſince this forlorn State has been already thus exhauſted, oppreſſed, and mortgaged for *German* Intereſts, whilſt thoſe for whom you have Fought and Laboured have been growing Rich by your Undoing, it would be reaſonable that *H——r* ſhould at leaſt expend in her own Defence that Money which *England* has enabled her to ſave, before we are deeper plunged into the fa-

thomleſs

thomleſs Abyſs of National Debt and overwhelming Taxes on that Account. Notwithſtanding this, tho' I confeſs to you with great Alacrity, that unſpeakable Advantages to this Nation have been derived from the Kings of the *Brunſwick* Race; yet, may I not be permitted to plead ſomething in Favour of a grateful People, who have by Indulgence defended the *Germanic* Dominions to the enriching their Inhabitants, and impoveriſhing themſelves.

GRATITUDE towards the Electorate of *H——r*, which has given us ſo Illuſtrious a King, ought undoubtedly to be cheriſhed and eſtimated to it's full Value, in the Breaſt of all *Engliſhmen*; yet will it not admit of ſome Debate, whether a M——r ſhould be indulged in ſuch extravagant and fatal Miſconduct, as that of dooming the Labour of your Hands entirely to *German* Welfare; eſpecially when we know, that our moſt gracious S——n on the T——e is abſolutely diveſted of all ſuch partial Inclinations, preferring the National Bliſs of this Iſland and it's Inhabitants, to whom he was born a Stranger, to the Welfare of that People, amongſt whom he firſt drew his Vital Breath?

To ſuch Exaltation can the Souls of S——s riſe above Humanity!

With what Rapture then do I declare this to you, my Fellow Countrymen; with what Pleaſure will you ſee it confirmed by Public Authority, that all theſe levied Subſidies, to hire mercenary *Barbarians*, and ſuſtain *German* Intereſts, are the Schemes of M——l Heads? Shall then the Tenderneſs of the parental P—e be defeated by the Arts of rapacious M——rs?

But let me no longer detain you from the Joy of reading what, fatally overlooked by the M——r, demonſtrates the Truth of that which I have been aſſerting, the Paſſage is from the laſt *Edinburgh* Addreſs on his Majeſty's Return from *Hanover*, printed in the *London Gazette*, and in theſe Words, "The "Spirit and Vigour with which your Majeſty "has ſupported the Rights of your Crown "and Kingdom, when unjuſtly invaded, "makes it our indiſpenſible Duty to applaud "thoſe Meaſures, *wherein all Conſiderations* "*have been manifeſtly poſtponed to the Intereſt* "*of the* Britiſh *Dominions*." This tranſcript of Zeal, breathed from a Country ſo remarkable

for

for it's Loyalty, though perhaps it may not be parallelled by any Addreſs from *Engliſh* Corporations yet for the Honour of my Country, I aſſert is as firmly believed by *Engliſh* as by *Scotchmen*; and though you have been leſs warm in your Expreſſions, I am convinced ye are as ſteady in your Loyalty and Duty.

HAVING in this Manner proceeded to lay before you the Money which has been raiſed and laviſhed, together with the Debt incurred in ſuſtaining *German* Intereſts, it is with Pain I proceed to ſhow how your Calamities have increaſed in other Views; every Boſom that yet feels for it's Native Land, muſt prove the biting Anguiſh of this accumulated Miſery.

IT is not only that your Trade, Agriculture, and Manufactures, have been wholly employed to ſupport foreign Intereſts; the matchleſs Iniquity of M———rs has been totally engaged in ruining yours, by reducing the Value of pecuniary Property to leſs than one Sixth of it's worth at the Revolution.

In the Reign of King *William* Money was at Seven *per Cent.* it is now reduced to Three and One half: Thus then as the Intereſt ariſing from that Property determines it's Value, Two thouſand Pounds being now only productive of the ſame Intereſt which one gave you at that Time, are of no more Worth; and all your Property in that Shape muſt have loſt half it's Value: To this Misfortune the fatal Adherence to *Germanic* Intereſts has reduced you.

How many friendleſs Widows and deſtitute Orphans have already ſorely felt, how many more muſt ſuffer on this Account, owing to this calamitous Reduction? Old Age pines in Want of the neceſſary Comforts which that helpleſs State requires, and Infants are diveſted of Education from this fatal Change in pecuniary Income.

Yet alas, this Reduction of half the Worth of your Poſſeſſions in Money does not terminate the Evil. By the beſt Computation, according to the Taxes of 1754, in profound Peace, out of every Twenty Shillings which is laid out to purchaſe the Neceſſaries

of

of Life, Fourteen are doomed to the paying Taxes. By this Means two Thirds of that Money which was before reduced in half it's Value ſince the Revolution, by diminiſhed Intereſt, is again taken from you, by the Increaſe of your Taxations.

THUS then for every Twenty Shillings Income in the Time of *James* the Second, ariſing from the Intereſt of your Money, you receive but Ten Shillings only at preſent; and as at his Exile your Taxes amounted only to Four Shillings in the Pound of all you expended, and at this Time to Fourteen, it follows, from the Impoſts ſo enormouſly increaſed by M——rs, that ſince that Time, inſtead of poſſeſſing Sixteen Shillings in every Pound clear of Taxes, you now poſſeſs Three only to purchaſe all the Neceſſaries of Life: What have ye already ſuffer'd? When will ye behold the End of your Calamities?

WHAT *Engliſhman*'s Heart can ceaſe from throbbing with Anxiety, when the hapleſs Condition of his induſtrious Countrymen comes acroſs it? When wounded with this Thought, that of all you earn one half is

loſt

loſt in Value, and two Thirds of that ſunk in Taxes ſince the Revolution; how inexpreſſible muſt that Anguiſh be to all you who recollect, that of every twenty Strokes of thoſe who labour at the Hammer, or the Loom, in Agriculture, Arts, and Manufactures, Fourteen are doomed to pay accumulated Taxes, raiſed for *German* Intereſts? That of Minutes, Hours, Days, Weeks, Years, and Ages, Fourteen of every Twenty are deſtined to pay for what will be your Ruin, before yourſelves, your Wives and Children, can taſte their daily Bread, the honeſt Labour of your Hands?

NAY, all ye Eat, Drink or Wear, Health, Cleanlineſs and Warmth, your Dwellings, and even the chearing Light of the Sun, which Heaven has given alike to all, are taxed to enrich *Germans* and exhauſt you.

SUCH then, tho' the Revolution was at that Time abſolutely neceſſary, have been the deplorable Effects of M——l Miſconduct ſince that Æra, to ſuch Diſtreſs ye are reduced.

HARD as theſe Conditions may appear, I ſhould yet have acquieſced in this Support of

German

German Intereſts, if the Product of your Trades had anſwered to the Sums ye conſumed, and the Increaſe of your National Wealth had augmented during the Time of this Diſſipation: But alas! ſuch is the Fate of *Engliſhmen*, that of the Millions coined in this Land, of the Millions coined in others, and brought hither by Loans and Commerce, not leſs perhaps than One hundred Millions ſince the Revolution, not one Shilling remains amongſt you more than there was in *England* at that Time; not to mention the National Debt incurred of Eighty Millions. *Germany* and her Intereſts, with ſome Aſſiſtance from the *Eaſt-India* Company, like the *Locuſts*, which fell on *Ægypt*, have devoured up the Whole. Wealth has paſſed thro' this Kingdom like a Meteor thro' the Sky, blazed, and left no Trace behind.

THIS long Liſt of Evils, ye might well expect would terminate your Miſery; but alas! it is not in the Burthen of your Taxes only, but in the Manner which they are laid upon you, that the Calamity is increaſed.

WHEN Taxes were firſt granted in this Kingdom, *for ever*, as a Security for the Money which was to be levied upon them,

in many it was provided, that as ſoon as the Money borrowed thereon was paid, the Tax ſhould ceaſe: But ſince that Time, theſe and all others, the Malt-Tax, Land-Tax, and very few beſides excepted, have been granted *to all Eternity*, with a Proviſion only, that when the Money borrowed on them ſhall be paid, the Produce ſhall be at the Diſpoſal of Parliament.

The Difference is too glaring to eſcape your Obſervation in theſe two Ways of paſſing the Bills; in the firſt, the Tax ceaſes neceſſarily with the Payment of the Debt, and the People are not obliged to pay it; in the ſecond, it continues after the Debt is diſcharged, and the People are obliged to pay it. Wherefore, if ever the National Debts ſhould be liquidated, which I believe no Man's Fears will induce him to ſay God prevent, from any preſent Probability of that Event, the King will have a Revenue of more than four Millions Sterling coming annually into his Exchequer, without any new Grant from Parliament, or need of it. Will then the Crown, the M——r, Placemen, Penſioners, and Plunderers, hereafter conſent to free you from theſe Taxes, by abrogating the Law? Should a Monarch graciouſly

ciouſly incline, will a M——r honeſtly conſent; or will a Crowned Head liſten to the righteous Advice of a juſt M—r, if Heaven, in Commiſeration to our Fall, ſhould in future Time ſend us that Temporal Saviour?

If then the bleſſed Sun ſhall ever riſe, which ſhall behold the Diſcharge of your Debts, and peradventure there ſhall be ſeated on this Throne a K—— ſwift to Wrath, and ſwift to Fear, whoſe partial Fervor for *Germanic* Intereſts ſhall prompt him into Broils, inattentive to your Welfare, ſo tender of his continental Subjects, and ſo afraid of *French* Invaſion in that Part, that through Dread of their Diſtreſs, he ſhall be intimidated to vote for the Election of that very E——r he is oppoſing; when chaining by his timid Command the Royal Fleet of *England* at *Gibraltar*, he ſhall permit that of the Enemy to paſs by unnoticed and untouched, whilſt the brave Admiral runs mad at the Horror of this Sacrifice of his Country's Honour; then this Revenue will probably be applied to the ſole Benefit of foreign Nations.

But if it ſhall happen that the M——r then in Direction ſhall dare the K—g to diſmiſs him from his Poſt, ſhall appoint all

Officers at his arbitrary Will, and diſcharge all who preſume to oppoſe his pernicious Practices; then ſhall this Revenue be ſquandered to purchaſe Burroughs, corrupt P—ts, lull the Turbulent, ſooth and ſatisfy the Ambitious, and rule ye with the Iron Rod of M———l Deſpotiſm.

It may happen alſo that a K—— and M——r of theſe Propenſities may rule together, then will their Conduct be a Mixture of the fatal Effects of ſuch Inclinations, and you doubly fleeced, to ſate the outrageous Love for foreign Nations in one, and to ſupply the inextinguiſhable Hunger after Rapine in the other, and in his profligate Adherents: In this Manner, by Powers drawing different Ways, ye ſhall be rent aſunder.

To what a deplorable Situation ſince the glorious Revolution are ye reduced? Arms are again taken from your Hands, the Income of your pecuniary Property ſhrunk to one Sixth of it's Value. The Neceſſity of your Toil for daily Bread immenſely increaſed, the whole Profits of it beſtowed on Foreign Nations, yourſelves and Progeny mortgaged beyond Redemption, and your Taxes rivetted beyond all Hopes of Diſſolution.

TELL me then by what Name I ſhall define ye, doom'd to ſuch hard Conditions for your daily Bread, defenceleſs even of that little ye poſſeſs. Shall I, beholding ye are yet *Engliſhmen*, dare to call ye Slaves?

YET alas! to *German* Weal have not your Looms and Labour, Arts, Agriculture, Merchandize and Science, been long deſtined? For that your Flocks have been increaſed and ſhorn, your Fields been fertiliſed and reapt, your Ships have dared the Wrath of Tempeſts, your Caſh been ſquandered, your Blood been laviſhed. For that Intereſt ye have Lived and ſhall Die.

THEN tell me, how does the purchaſed *Negro* differ from you in Servitude? How is your Condition more eligible or free, when the hard Hand of Neceſſity compels you to Toil Fourteen Hours in every Twenty, for foreign Nations, to whom ye owe no legal Obedience, before ye earn one Bit of Bread.

WHO ſhall now audaciouſly lift his Front and ſay ye are longer Free, or that your State anſwers to the Definition given by that great Author quoted in the Beginning of

theſe Pages? Do ye poſſeſs the Power of doing all ye ought to chuſe? Are ye not compell'd to do that which ought not to be the Choice of a free People?

In this Manner reduced as ye are ſince the Date of the happy Revolution, in all the Value of your annual Revenues, is it credible that the Heart of an *Engliſhman*, unrelenting to the Miſeries of his Native Land, can again ſuggeſt the cruel Thought of finiſhing your Deſtruction, by eſpouſing *H——n* Intereſts, at this precarious Moment?

Is it not Time to reſpite this Nation from her Calamities and Sufferings? Muſt her Wounds again be opened, her Treaſures ſluiced for the ſole Benefit of *German* Powers? Shall mercenary *Barbarians* be purchaſed in Defence of *H——r*, and ten Times the Value of that State in *Engliſh* Gold be waſted for it's Preſervation? Will the Woes of all Nations but yours be ended?

Be not amuſed with ſpecious Tales of Conventions made with the *Pruſſian* King, and vaſt Advantages obtained; what are you to him, or he to you, as *Hamlet* ſays of *Hecuba?* What is this but farther Proof of Attention

tention to *H——n* Weal, whilſt the Safety of this Nation is ſtill neglected and poſtponed, and Arms withheld from your Hands? Whatever be the concealed Condition, be aſſured, the Price of your Labour, the Works of your Hands, the Produce of your Lands and Manufactories, purchaſe him to the Engagement; whatever the Advantage, it can accrue to *H—r* alone. Of what other Conſequences can theſe Treaties be to this Land, ſaving that of compleating your Perdition?

HAVE ye an Ally, unpurchaſed by your Treaſure, who will advance one Regiment to the Field in your Defence? Will even the *H——ns*, for whom you have already waſted ſo much Wealth, will the *Auſtrians* eſpouſe your Quarrel, and riſque the *Netherlands* in your Favour? Can that Nation which already pays Fourteen Shillings in every Twenty which her Inhabitants expend towards the Taxes of the State, bear farther fleecing, and new Impoſts? Can a People in whoſe Favour, at the higheſt Computation, the Yearly Balance of Trade does not exceed Five hundred thouſand Pounds, whoſe Caſh conſiſts of only Fourteen Millions, be capable of ſuſtaining the Payment of foreign Subſidies, and Support of *German* Armies,

to

to the Amount of three or four Millions annually; which tranſmigrating, like the Soul in the Syſtem of *Pythagoras*, from hence to *Brutes*, never returns to the ſame Body?

WILL *Dutchmen* and other Foreigners lend their Money to furniſh Loans to a State, whoſe declining Credit is manifeſt by the Reduction of one Quarter of their *Eaſt-India* Stock? Can you alone ſuſtain a continental War, mortgaged for Eighty Millions, againſt *France*, who, when free and unmortgaged, have been running to Deſtruction in ſupporting former Wars, aſſiſted by the *Dutch* and *Auſtrians*?

WILL not then a five Years War on the Continent, and M——l Conduct, bring upon you a more deplorable Calamity than that with which the Will of Heaven has viſited the *Portugueze*? When Paper no longer circulating from Hand to Hand in lieu of Money, your Treaſure wafted to *Germany*, ye ſtand in need of wherewithal to buy your Children Bread?

THE Gold of *Portugal*, tho' buried in the Ruins of *Liſbon*, may again be recovered from the Rubbiſh; tho' hid, not annihilated;

lated; whereas the Treaſure of this Iſle, tranſported to *Germanic* Lands, will be irrecoverable by human Induſtry, and loſt for ever. Does it then require the Gift of Prophecy to predict your Deſtruction?

YET in this preſent Situation, not irremediable by adhering to *Britiſh* Intereſts alone, this precious Moment which muſt decide the Fate of *England*, ſuch is the unnatural Lot of every honeſt *Engliſhman*, who feels for the Diſtreſſes of his Country, that Conſent to Subſidies, and ſupporting *German* Intereſts, are the ſole Teſts of Allegiance to M——rs, the ſole Preſervative of Place and Penſion. He who nobly prefers his Native Land to *H——n* Welfare, is marked the inſtant Victim of M——l Vengeance. Long Services, unimpeached Fidelity, ſuperior Talents, well-fought Fields, and honeſt Wounds in *England*'s Cauſe, weigh nothing in the M——l Scale againſt *H—n* Welfare; theſe ſecure no Man from Diſmiſſion, who dares oppoſe the draining your Treaſures for *German* Intereſts.

SUCH is your dire Condition: Then tell me, what have ye to expect from that Man, who having violated his Fidelity to his

Robt. Nugent Esq.

Prince, and trucked his Religion for a Place, bellows out for Subsidies, his hardened Front of *Hibernian* Brass unblushing at the Speech and Action?

Sr. George Lyttelton

Or what have ye to Hope from him, who, like St *Paul*, converted by the Splendor of those Rays which dart from on high, becomes all Things to all Men? Who, sown in Weakness is raised in Power? And, like the first Man, is of the Earth, earthly? But behold, I will show them a Mystery, they shall not all Sleep, but they shall be changed; for this Corruptible, must put on Incorruption, and this Mortal must put on Immortality.

Henry Fox Esq.

Or lastly, from him, who like the *Vulture* long hovering o'er his Prey, has at length sowsing, fixed his Talons in M——l Power; he who possesses it on the base Conditions of wasting your Wealth in foreign Subsidies, and dooming this Land to Perdition in support of *H——n* Interests.

He who, from his early Youth Companion of the Abandoned, immersed in Dice and Women, Self-interested, Daring, Proud, Rapacious, Vehement, Unequal, Active, Timid;

Timid; his Ambition riſing like the rank Weed from Dung; now giving, yet retaining; completes the promiſed Expectation of his opening Life, and dupes his native Land to his own, and foreign Intereſts.

He whoſe Tongue, the pleading Bawd for every Robber of his Country, has vindicated an *A—r* and *L——p*, whoſe Fingers, like the Hair of *Solomon*'s Miſtreſs, are all of pure Gold; like *Catiline*, deſperate in his Purpoſes, undoing or undone, ſeducing the Young, ſurrounded by the Profligate, who, avaricious thro' Profuſion, with ſcarce leſs Vice or more Virtuous Inclinations towards their Country, pillage to waſte: Among whom, perhaps, a *Cæſar* now cheriſhes the Hopes of future Empire.

Or that Veteran in M—l Iniquity, who, like the ſilly *Oſtrich*, thinking himſelf Inviſible to all he does not ſee, hides his Head amongſt theſe Men, and leaves his bare Backſide an Object of Deriſion to every Paſſenger.

If ſuch ſhall ever be your M——l Rulers, behold them with that Horror which Heaven has commanded the Virtuous to look on Iniquity: Then turn your Eyes on thoſe,

who ſcorning all Place which is incompatible with *Engliſh* Honour and *Engliſh* Intereſt, ſhall be diſmiſſed, becauſe they prefer their Country's Cauſe to foreign Welfare.

BEHOLD with Joy him, whoſe unwearied Diligence, ſuperior Intellect, Love of his Country, and *Memorial for ſettling the Limits of* Nova Scotia, reſcued the M——r from the dire Dilemma of not being able to prove the Right of *England* to theſe very Provinces in *America*, for which ye contend, and ſilenced all the babbling Batteries of *France*: Who, greatly renouncing all Poſt and Place, deſtines his Talents to ſerve his Country only.

Henry Legge Eſq.

OR him, Integrity burning Incenſe at the Altar of his Heart, whoſe honeſt Hand diſdained to Sign a Breach of this Conſtitution, or trifle with *Britiſh* Welfare.

HE who, reſigning all pecuniary Advantage, deſpiſes the falſe Honour of Place, the fallacious dazzle of Power, ſuſtaining his Country's Cauſe ſtill uncorrupted.

Earl Temple & his Brothers.

How ſhall I deſcribe to you a noble Family, where all the Sons are virtuous, ardent in their Country's Cauſe, relinquiſhing all

all Place and Profit, reſolute in Honour, ſtrenuous in Juſtice to this Land, their Conſtitution, and their King?

Or him, who renouncing immenſe Income, the Price of Numbers, and even the Poſt he wiſhes to poſſeſs, when it may be held compatible with his own Honour and his Country's Glory, ſteps forth like *David*, tho' not at *Saul*'s Requeſt, before the *Iſraelites*, oppoſing the M——l *Goliah*, and his Hoſt?

Will: Pitt Esq.

His Heart ſtill uncorrupt amidſt the general Venality, animates his Lips in your Defence; thoſe Lips, which to this Day have uttered nothing but the Voice of Truth in *England*'s Favour.

He, who contemning mercenary Views, with pure Integrity ſupported the Honour of his Station, his Hands unſtained with venal Pollution, his Tongue unproſtituted in defence of Falſhood, or extenuation of Iniquity; for him the Soldier maimed in Battle, offers up his daily Prayers, who freed him from the Plunderer.

Mark how that force of Eloquence, like the Sword of *Michael*, cleaves the Satanic

Body

Body of the M——y asunder; yet such is the Power of Union amongst Evil M——rs, like that of Evil Spirits, it unites them again to war against your Welfare.

Assist me, Heaven, to paint this Messenger dispatched from your Abodes, who, arduous in the Task of Liberty, spreads his broad Shield of Truth in Protection of this Country from the Rage of *G——n* Harpies; or give my Words his Power of Speech, and strength of Argument, which dart like the solar Rays on the dark Places and Recesses of your Miseries, making all visible: Then may I offer him to your Perceptions, and shew him as he is.

Did ye behold him rising in the Assembly of the ——, the Lightning of Virtue flashing from his Eyes, the Thunder of Patriotism rolling from his Tongue; so superior he appears, such Majesty he wears, you must conceive him sent an Angel, to denounce the Wrath of Heaven against a sinful Generation; his Opponents calling on Rocks and Mountains to hide and cover them? Such Confusion and Dread dwell on the dastard Faces of all, who, sold to *H——n* Interests, stand branded in the Forehead with

with the *White Horſe*, the ignominious Mark of Slavery.

LISTEN not, ye People, to the Voice of Slander and Malediction, which taints in vain his Acts of Virtue with the baſe Idea of Tergiverſation, or want of Uniformity in Conduct: On whom has he turned his Back, but thoſe who would deſtroy their Native Land? Whom has he deſerted, that Honour can ſuffer an *Engliſhman* to herd with? Why did he remain ſo long ſilent, but thro' Hopes, at length the auſpicious Hour might come, when getting to his S———n's Ear, the Voice of Truth might prevail in *England*'s Favour?

IN vain, him whom they tremble to oppoſe Face to Face, beneath the Light of Heaven, they ſecretly ſtilletto'd in the Dark, before his M—r. The magic Voice of Verity was withheld from R—l Ears, whilſt the keen Breath of Malice blaſted his Attachment to the K—— of *E——d*, pronouncing him the Enemy of *H——r*.

MAY that Hour never arrive, when the R——l Heart ſhall too late be touched with Remorſe for this Credulity, and ſuffer by the Deception of M——rs!

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ON this Man then turn all your Eyes, from Him expect Redreſs, by Him urge your Remonſtrances, believe Him ſent for your Preſervation, leſt, like the *Meſſiah* to the *Jews*, he preach Salvation to an ungrateful People, and ye are loſt for ever.

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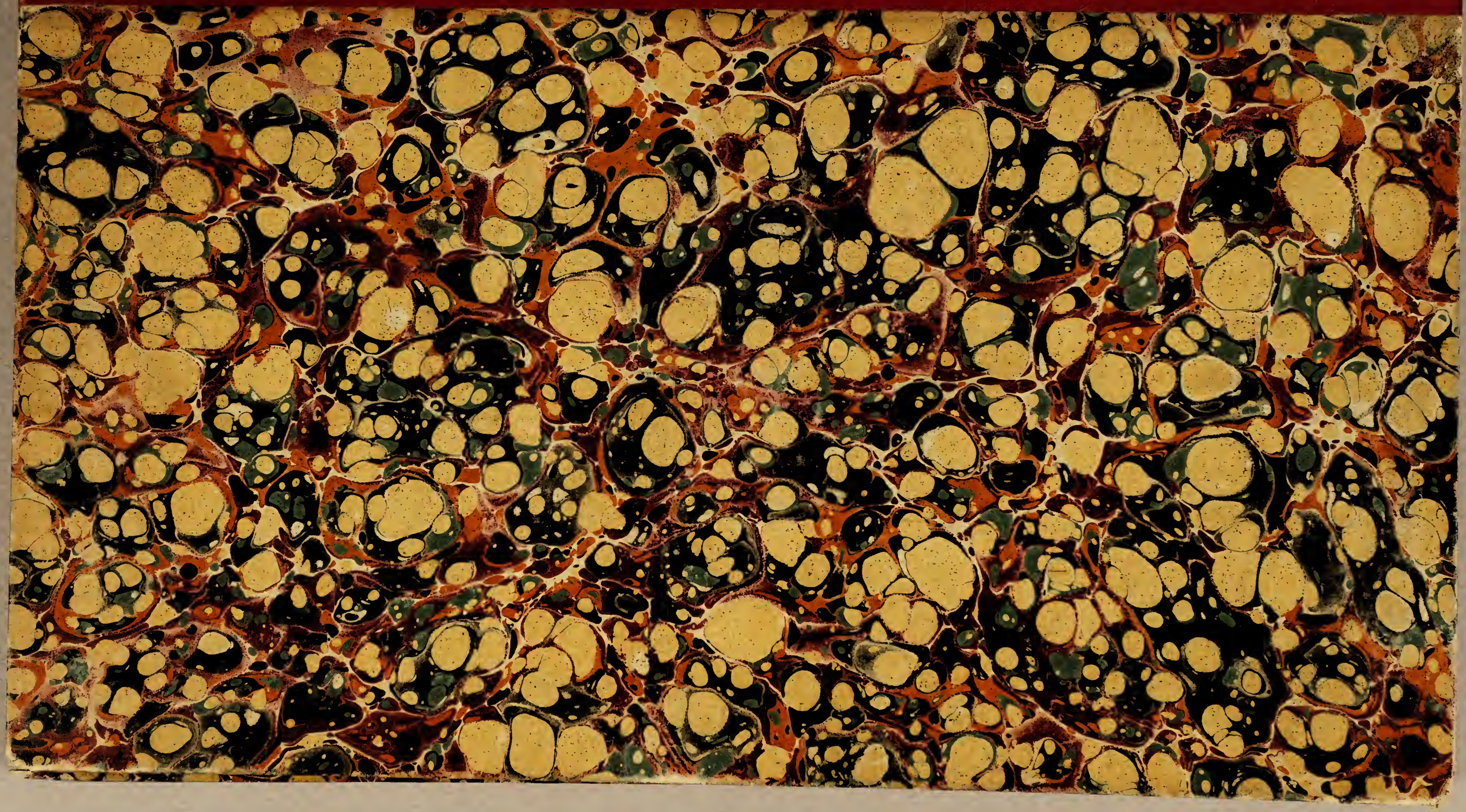
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